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11 April 1977

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MEMORANDUM FOR: Director of Central Intelligence

FROM : Robert R. Bowie  
Deputy to the DCI for National Intelligence

SUBJECT : Presidential Priorities

1. Action Requested: None. Attached is our list of Presidential Priorities you might wish to discuss with the President.

2. Background:

a. You had indicated an interest in discussing with President Carter his top concerns for intelligence. The attached listing was produced by the NIOs and informally discussed with State, DIA, and Treasury. It has not been formally coordinated. The order in which the items are listed does not necessarily indicate an internal order of priority.

b. I am assuming that you will not ask the President to approve this list in detail but only to provide us with his guidance.

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Robert R. Bowie

Attachment  
As stated

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I. Global Issues

1. International energy: What are the intentions and plans of the OPEC cartel members toward the price and supply of oil to meet the rising demands of the US and other Western countries? Will the Arab oil producers, either as a result of renewed war with Israel or to force a diplomatic crisis, reactivate the oil embargo or otherwise seek to exploit the worldwide dependence on oil?
2. Nuclear proliferation: Assess the attitudes and policies of foreign governments toward the development of nuclear weapons (in the case of nonnuclear weapons states) and toward the development and use of sensitive nuclear power technologies which involve direct access to plutonium, highly enriched uranium, or other weapons-usable materials. Include countries that supply nuclear technology and materials as well as the recipients.
3. Impact of potential changes of US arms transfer policy: What effect would limitations in the transfer of US arms have on the policies of significant arms suppliers, such as West Germany and France, and on recipients in

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Latin America and the Middle East and elsewhere?  
Is there any evidence that other governments are concerned about this issue or are considering other solutions? What opportunities would arise for the Warsaw Pact countries and how would they respond? What will the impact be on US influence and on the prospects for regional armed conflicts?

4. International economic issues: Assess the impact of the following economic trends and issues on US economic policies and negotiations:

--What are the political and economic forces which will affect the economic growth prospects of the OECD countries, especially the plans and impact of economic stimulation by the stronger countries

25X6 [redacted] and of the troubled  
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--What are the strategies, tactics and internal factors which bear on the positions of the major Western economic powers and key less developed countries in forthcoming multilateral trade negotiations?

--What are the strategies and tactics of the less developed countries in the various issues being handled in the forums of the North-South debate such as CIEC and UNCTAD?

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--What impact is the placement of foreign assets of the major oil exporting countries having on international monetary stability generally and, specifically, on national and multilateral lending institutions?

## II. East-West

### 5. The short-term outlook for Soviet foreign policy:

Assess the degree of aggressiveness and risk-taking propensity; take an around-the-world look for prospective challenges; sort out the likely mix of competition/cooperation on various issues.

### 6. The human rights issue in the USSR and Eastern Europe:

How destabilizing is the issue? How destabilizing do the Communist leaders think it is? What is the impact of US policy actions? What is the internal potential of dissidence and its foreign policy implications?

### 7. Soviet SALT policy over the next six months:

What are Soviet objectives in SALT over the next six months? How will they react to US proposals and how much flexibility will they display on key issues as the Interim Agreement nears expiration? What are Soviet intentions for adherence to SALT agreements?

### 8. Soviet policy on other arms control issues: What are

Moscow's approaches and reaction to US approaches to other arms control negotiations (MBFR, CTB, CW,

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non-proliferation, etc.) likely to be? What will be their political and military objectives?

9. Soviet activities in the Third World: What are Soviet intentions and capabilities to expand their influence in the Third World? To what extent can the Soviets expand dependence on surrogate states to support new initiatives in the Third World? To what extent will they employ covert operations to support insurgent movements? What are the most vulnerable areas in the near term and what are the longer term prospects?

10. Soviet strategic forces questions:

- What are the objectives and practical expectations of Soviet leaders for their strategic forces and capabilities relative to those of the US during the next ten years?
- What are the operational capabilities of the Backfire and Soviet plans to employ it against the continental US?
- Are the Soviets now deploying, or will they deploy, a mobile ICBM? How is it distinguishable from the SS-X-20?
- What are Soviet plans for the development and deployment of long-range cruise missiles?

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--When will Soviet ICBMs pose a severe threat to US missile silos?

--What are the prospects that the Soviets will acquire an effective operational capability to detect and track Western SSBNs at sea?

--What are the prospects that the Soviets will acquire an effective defense against bombers, SRAMs and cruise missiles?

--What progress are the Soviets making in advanced technologies crucial to the development of weapon systems which could have a significant influence on the USSR's strategic military posture?

11. Soviet civil defense: What is the pace and effectiveness of Soviet civil defense preparations? How do Soviet leaders assess the contribution of their civil defenses to the USSR's strategic posture relative to the US?
12. Soviet space interference: What are the risks of Soviet interference with US space systems?
13. Soviet military developments: Will there be any technological developments, or changes in force posture which could significantly influence Soviet/Warsaw Pact strategic or conventional military capabilities? How would such changes when perceived influence Warsaw Pact or NATO attitudes?

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14. Impact of Soviet economic problems: In what specific ways are current economic problems in the USSR likely to be reflected in key US political, economic or SALT negotiations with Moscow?
15. Sino-Soviet relations: Will there be an improvement in state-to-state relations on such issues as trade, border negotiations, and exchanges? Be alert for any changes in military posture that could affect the Sino-Soviet balance or indicate warlike intentions on either side. What are the chances of hostilities? Are changing perceptions of the Sino-Soviet-US triangle having any impact on Moscow's or Peking's foreign policy? Are any leadership changes developing in either Communist capital that will significantly affect these relationships?
16. The Chinese economy: How serious are the agricultural and industrial shortfalls and how will these affect future trade and internal stability? How will the Chinese resolve the resource allocation problem, especially as it applies to military modernization?

### III. Regional Issues

#### Latin America

17. Cuban activities abroad: What are Cuba's intentions and capabilities to exploit opportunities to expand its influence in the Caribbean, Africa, and the Middle East? To what extent is it acting as Moscow's agent?

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18. Negotiations with Cuba: What are Cuban fallback positions on issues for negotiation with the US to normalize relations? What factors limit Cuban flexibility?
19. Negotiations with Panama: What are Panama's tactics, strategies, and fallback positions in the conduct of negotiations for a new Canal Treaty?
20. Brazil: What is Brazilian reactions to US positions on nuclear safeguards and human rights? How do these US positions affect political and trade relations between the US and Brazil? How do they affect Brazil's economic development and political evolution?

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Middle East-Africa

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23. Rhodesia: What is the outlook for an "acceptable" solution in Rhodesia, or for an escalation in the conflict which could involve an even wider circle of external supporters?
24. Zaire: Will Zaire hold together, or slide again into a chaos of warring provinces? What are the implications for the West under such a development?
25. Nigeria: Will Nigeria in fact be prepared to assume broader leadership responsibilities in black Africa?
26. The Horn of Africa: Can the Ethiopian Government hold onto Eritrea, and maintain its territorial integrity? What are the prospects for armed conflict between Ethiopia and Somalia over the FTAI or the Ogaden? What are the implications for the US, if any, of the expanding external involvement in the Horn? What are the prospects that the Sudan and Saudi Arabia will plan an increasing role in the area? What are the prospects for a significant loosening of ties between the USSR and Somalia.
27. Soviet-Cuban Influence in Africa: Is Soviet influence on the rise in Africa generally? What strategic advantages has the USSR acquired through the signing of friendship treaties with Angola and Mozambique and how will these affect the Soviet Union's long-term implications for the expansion of Cuban influence in Africa?

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28. South Africa and Namibia: How will the Republic of South Africa respond to the changes in the southern African region and to its own growing isolation? What is the outlook for changes in the South African internal scene, either through external pressures, internal disorder, or conscious decision by the present regime? What are the prospects for Namibia winning international acceptance if it becomes independent under the present Windhoek conference proposals?

Far East

29. The Chinese bargaining position on Taiwan: What give is there in China's three conditions for normalization? Are the Chinese going to use military pressure to enhance their bargaining position?
30. Korean attitudes and plans: How will the North and South Koreans respond to the US troop withdrawal program and other policies of the new US administration?
31. US Bases in the Philippines: What are the real views of the ASEAN states to a US military presence in the Philippines? Will Manila compromise in negotiations to retain a US base presence?

Western Europe

32. Political Trends: How are the challenges to established Western European political patterns evolving and how

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might foreseeable political changes [ ]

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ships within Europe and the Alliance?

33. Prospects for the West European Communist parties:

How are the Communist parties, particularly in Italy, France, and Spain, evolving in their quest for roles in government? How are the governing parties responding to the challenge, and the dilemmas, and opportunities thereby presented to the Communists? What are the likely consequences for NATO?

34. Defense and Alliance policies of the major Western

European states: This question includes not only European policies toward NATO itself and attitudes toward East-West relations (military balance as well as detente) but also such political-military-economic issues as arms standardization and the "two-way street" in alliance procurement.

35. Arms standardization and procurement: What are the trends in the policies and attitudes of European NATO members toward issues of arms standardization and the "two-way street" in alliance procurement?

36. Greece-Turkey: What developments in Greek-Turkish-Cypriot relations point to any renewed conflict or to increasing prospects for a settlement?

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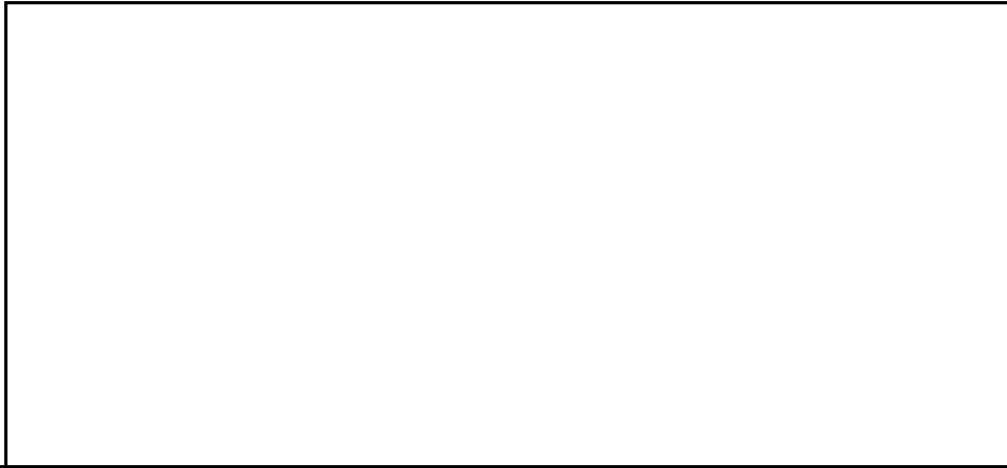
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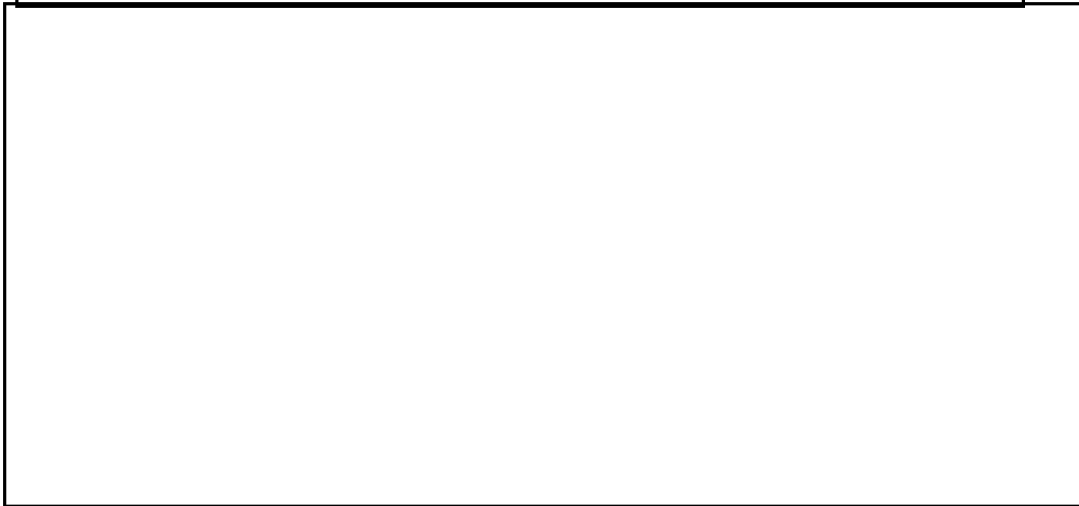
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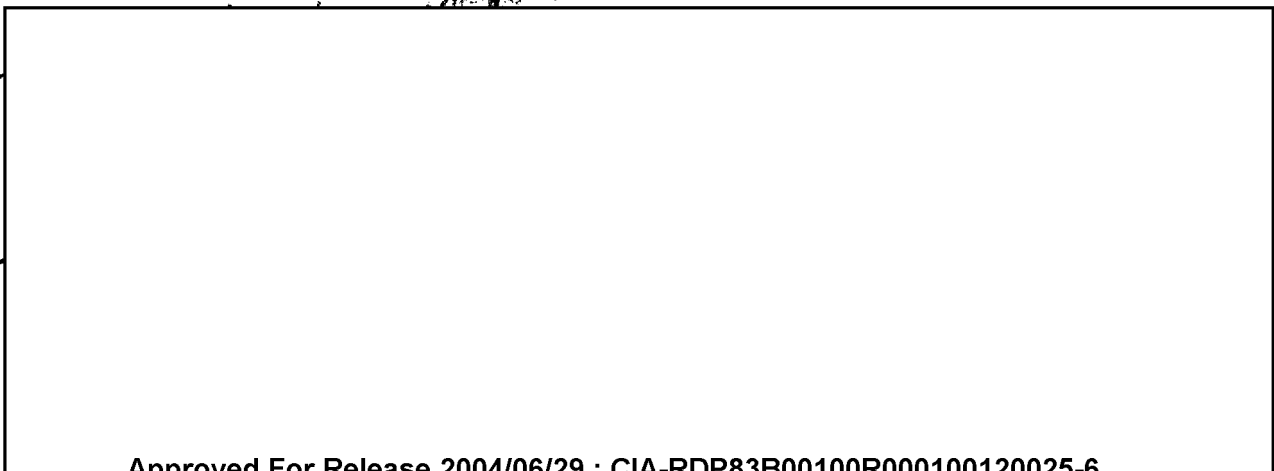


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*What  
want to be initiated*



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